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ABSTRACT

Designed as supplementary material to undergraduate geography courses, this document focuses on a contemporary social problem and its relation to geography. The paper examines existing patterns of residential separation in which ethnic and racial groups--primarily black Americans--generally are spatially clustered in segments of urban space that frequently assume a territorial identification. The purpose is to explore the operation of forces that are responsible for patterns which are molded by both economic and social behavior. After an overview of the problem is in chapter 1, a brief history of the black ghetto as a legacy of the past is included in chapter 2. Chaptor 3 examines urbanization of the early 1900s and its relation to ghetto formation. The location of urban space throughout the United States is explored in the fourth chapter, determining that the ghetto is a universal spatial configuration in large urban centers. The fifth chapter presents an explanation of the mechanism which produces such spatial patterns. It includes social, economic, and political variables. These variables are examined in relation to balck and white residential patterns in chapter 6. A list of references cited in the text concludes the document.
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SOCIAL PROCESSES IN THE CITY: RACE AND URBAN RESIDENTIAL CHOICE

Harold M. Rose
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

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FOREWORD

The Resource Papers have been developed as expository documents for the use of both the student and instructor. They are experimental in that they are designed to supplement existing texts and to fill a gap between significant research in geography and readily accessible materials. The papers are concerned with important concepts in modern geography and focus on three general themes: geographic theory; policy implications; and contemporary social relevance. They are designed as supplements to a variety of undergraduate college geography courses at the introductory and advanced level. These Resource Papers are developed, printed, and distributed by the Commission on College Geography under the auspices of the Association of American Geographers with National Science Foundation support. The ideas presented in these papers do not necessarily imply endorsement by the AAG. Single copies are mailed free of charge to all AAG members.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
I.	An Overview of the Problem	1
II.	The Black Ghetto, A Legacy of the Past	2
III.	Urbanization and Ghetto Formation	3
IV.	The Location of Ghetto Space	7
V.	The Ghetto Forming Mechanism	11
	White Response to Black Encroachment	12
	The Black Dilemma and the Housing Market	19
	Available Options	23
VI.	Models of Ghetto Residential Development	27
VII.	Summary and Conclusions	30
VIII.	References Cited in Text	31

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

1. The Spatial and Temporal Evolution of a National Ghetto System 5
2. Volume and Direction of Net Black Migration from the South, 1940 - 1960. 6
3. San Francisco - The Physical Environment, Amenity Factors and the Black Ghetto Situation 8
4. Sector-Centralization Pattern of Black Population Distribution, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1960. 10
5. Spatial Temporal Variations in the Class Within Boston Ghetto Space: 1950 and 1960 13
6. Tempo-Spatial Variations in the Changing Intensity of Black Occupance in Selected Boston Neighborhoods 15
7. Racial Age Structure Variations in Selected Boston Social Areas 17
8. A Convergence-Divergence Racial Residential Behavioral Model 24
9. Black Residential Areas and the Temporal Development of the City. 25
10. Life Cycle Stage and Arrangement in Urban Social Space 26
11. Simulated Pattern of Ghetto Expansion, Boston, 1970. 29

LIST OF TABLES

Page

1. The Ratio of Actual Population to Expected Population Under Conditions of Assumed Normality: 1950 - 1960. 18
2. Race and Rent in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Boston, Massachusetts: 1960. . 20
3. Poverty Areas as Per Cent of City Area in Selected Cities 22

SOCIAL PROCESSES IN THE CITY: RACE AND URBAN RESIDENTIAL CHOICE

I. An Overview of the Problem

Residential segregation based on race is a common characteristic of American life. It has done much to contribute to the development of the two societies, one black and one white, referred to in the Kerner Commission report of 1968. The rapid urbanization of the United States and the even greater rate of urbanization on the part of the nation's black population have done much to bring this problem into sharper focus. The race-specific dichotomy of urban residential patterns is one of the most apparent attributes characterizing urban residential space. Yet these patterns have only rarely been the focus of attention of American geographers with interest in either urban or cultural geography. A number of factors worked against focusing on problems of this nature in the past; among them are the traditional emphasis on the regional approach, a landscape bias with a heavy rural orientation, and a formal disinterest in social attributes of populations. Recent changes in the orientation of geography as a research discipline, however, have permitted the legitimization of research involving previously ignored topics.

What is the basis for the existing patterns of residential separation in which ethnic and racial groups are generally spatially clustered in segments of urban space that frequently assume a territorial identification? It is the purpose of this paper to explore the operation of those forces which are responsible for these evolving spatial patterns. The forces which create racially based patterns of residential occupance are steeped in both economic and social behavior. The roles of the two sets of forces are very complex and impinge upon individual behavior in a variety of ways. Yet there can be little doubt that whatever alteration may have occurred in the relationship between these two sets of forces, they have had a very limited impact on changing the gross patterns of race-specific residential occupance in the nation's major urban systems.

While there is much evidence to support the presence of ethnic and racial enclaves both in the past and present, suggesting that this is a normative condition during periods of pioneer development in an alien territory, attention here will be limited solely to the pattern of residential occupance of black Americans. It is among black Americans that residential separation is most intense and that residential enclaves are expanding at a time when most other such enclaves are in the process of diminishing. No other group in American life appears to be as strongly identified with segments of urban turf as are black Americans. These zones of occupance have been variously described as black ghettos, black social areas, Negro ghettos, and dark ghettos (Morrill, 1965; Rose, 1969; Weaver, 1948; and Clark, 1965). Local euphemisms have also been employed to describe specific zones of black occupance. "Inner core" and "inner city" are terms currently in vogue. But in the past, terms of derision were frequently employed such as "chalk town," "smoky bottom," and "nigger town." The use of the latter terminology was an explicit expression of the status assigned to the territory of occupance of black Americans. A continuation of past residential assignment practices has had, and no doubt will continue to have, a decided impact on the forms of the metropolitan configuration, as well as upon its character.

II. The Black Ghetto, A Legacy of the Past

The existence of black social areas in American cities and towns is not a form of social accommodation that is without deep roots. Almost every village, town, and city with a significant proportion of blacks in its population has its site specific zone of concentration. Such was a fact of life that was seldom challenged as long as black Americans were explicitly recognized as social creatures of a lower order. Within this context, attempts were even made to provide this settlement form with legal sanctions, the last of which were removed only slightly less than a generation ago. While zones of black occupance appear to have prevailed in urban settlements, running the range in scale as far back as evidence of the presence of Negroes in cities extends, the rise of black ghettos of enormous size is essentially a twentieth century phenomenon. These have been described by Clark (1965) as essentially a northern urban invention. This is true if one thinks of the ghetto forming process as one in which the black population serves as a replacement for an abandoning white population in contiguous residential space.

The population replacement process which leads to ghetto formation in northern cities, while reflecting a similar conceptual notion to that imbued in the original definition of a ghetto, differs from it in its operational context. Wirth (1928) states that the ghetto idea originated as a European urban institution specifically designed to separate the Jewish population from other segments of the European population by confining them to a walled sector of the city.

In many ways the original ghetto idea was best satisfied in southern cities after the abolition of slavery. While there were no confining walls erected as a means of specifying the location of black residential areas, legal and extra-legal sanctions more or less governed the location of black residential zones. Frequently, a single street served as the dividing line between racial zones of residential occupance (Hoyt, 1939). Yet there is evidence in some southern cities which indicates a very low level of spatial separation based on race. Charleston, South Carolina (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1966) and New Orleans, Louisiana (La Violette, 1960) have been described as having low levels of spatial separation until early in this century. This condition partially reflects the function and nature of these cities, as well as the historical importance of slaves in older southern cities. Van den Berghe (1967) suggests that the social distance mechanism which existed during slavery left social status unthreatened and therefore made physical segregation unnecessary during the pre-Jim Crow era, a factor which accounts for the partial absence of distinctive zones of occupance based on race during this period. It appears, then, that the congruence which exists between the original ghetto idea and its development in southern cities of the United States is associated with the rise of Jim Crow institutions in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Whether black residential enclaves in a number of northern cities during this period were an outgrowth of cultural pluralism or social pluralism is not entirely clear at this point. Social pluralism may be distinguished from cultural pluralism in one very critical way. Social pluralism implies the involuntary operation of a set of forces designed to minimize social interaction and, as a consequence, promote social isolation. This eventually leads to the evolution of subculture which is a distorted form of that of the subjugating group. As slavery did occur in a number of northern states, although on a limited scale, the social pluralism thesis appears to be the rational one.

III. Urbanization and Ghetto Formation

The rise of the black ghetto in American cities, while explicitly an outgrowth of the actions of individuals situated in a specific residential zone, is closely associated with changes occurring within the larger national system. Economic and social forces which give rise to the movement of persons on both a regional and intro-regional scale may serve as the primer which prompts the explicit action permitting embryonic ghetto formation. Prior to 1920, the United States was a rural nation. But rapid industrialization, which had been initiated during an earlier period, was promoting a redistribution of the American population. The focus of these population shifts was toward the older industrial centers of the northeast and the rising industrial centers of the Great Lakes region. While there is evidence of the presence of black Americans in a few of the older eastern cities from the seventeenth century on (Reynolds, 1968), the numbers remained small until after the turn of the twentieth century. Thus, the rise of black ghettos of increasing scale has been prompted by the increase in mobility of the American population and the subsequent sharp increase in the propensity for black Americans to enter the established migration streams.

In 1900, 84 percent of the American blacks were residents of the South, where they constituted a sizeable segment of the landless peasantry. Movement out of southern agriculture did not seriously get underway until the decade between 1910 and 1920, when the South suffered a net loss of 522,000 blacks, a number almost equaling the loss of the prior 30-year period (Hamilton, 1964). For the first time, the largest net movement of blacks out of the South was destined for the North Central region, a movement that was previously directionally biased in favor of the Northeast. The initial trickle of post-Civil War movers was destined for the cities of the Atlantic seaboard. Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, and New York contained the largest black clusters located outside of the cultural hearth at the beginning of the period of agricultural abandonment. The limiting effect of distance from the hearth was observable as early as the latter part of the nineteenth century. At this time, Baltimore and Washington included larger black populations than did either Philadelphia or New York, which were further removed from the principal source regions of Virginia and North and South Carolina. While New York currently possesses the largest black population of any of the nation's urban centers, Philadelphia's black population exceeded that of New York prior to 1910. Again, this probably reflects the distance effect.

In 1920, the year that the nation was first identified as more urban than rural, there were only nine non-southern urban centers that possessed black populations exceeding 25,000; but it is instructive to note that three of these contained more than 100,000 black Americans. At this date there were twice the number of southern cities with black populations in excess of 25,000 than were to be found outside the region. The number 25,000 is thought to represent a population cluster which might be expected to provide an extensive range of goods and services. For this reason, urban centers containing 25,000 or more black Americans will be assumed to have surpassed a critical population threshold upon which a viable social community might be developed. Communities having attained population clusters of this magnitude by 1920 might be thought of as old ghetto centers, whereas those attaining this status at a later date might be described as new and incipient ghetto centers. Seven of the old ghetto centers were situated in the North Central region; four of these had initially entered this circle during

the previous decade. The rise of the Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis ghettos is associated with the migratory response to increased war-based economic opportunity.

The generation which spanned the period 1920-1950 saw the rise of additional ghetto clusters that might be described as the new ghetto centers (Figure 1). The scale of movement out of the South during this interval was massive, and only during the depression decade of the thirties was there a slowdown. The black migrants filled the voids created by the reduction in the volume of European immigrant flow following the passage of restrictive legislation in 1921 and 1924. The floodtide of black in-migration during this generation served as the external ghetto forming stimulus, which permitted the rapid expansion of both old and new ghetto areas. During the same period, urban black social areas in the South were likewise experiencing growth but in a less dramatic fashion.

Since urban residential expansion in southern cities was institutionally defined and directed, ghetto configurations evolved in response to a different set of priming factors. The process of urbanization, which resulted in the large-scale movements of socially alien segments of the population from a southern rural environment to a northern industrial environment, generated the necessary wave-like response that facilitated a clustered rather than a dispersed pattern of residential occupance. The social processes which operate within urban space to promote black ghetto development are themselves set into motion by social and economic forces occurring outside of the city and the region. Once the population passes a critical threshold level, it is able to continue to grow even though the level of in-migration is severely slowed down.

Continued large-scale outmovement from the South, coupled with increasing inter-metropolitan mobility, is promoting a third generation of ghetto clusters. A number of these are situated in the shadow of already existing major centers. Chief among the third-generation black ghettos are Milwaukee, Denver, Seattle, Boston, and San Diego. The third-generation ghetto clusters which have emerged since 1950 possess a smaller proportion of blacks to total central city population than the older centers of destination. Many of the second-generation centers are beginning to approach the proportion of black occupancy prevailing in major central cities of the South, a factor which might be contributing to the recognized convergence of the ghetto forming process between the two regions. Third-generation clusters differ from the previous two in reflecting a greater diversity of source regions from which migrants are drawn. Most first-generation ghetto clusters, the principal exception being St. Louis, attracted migrants essentially from a single source region, the South Atlantic states. The rise of second-generation ghetto clusters saw migrants drawn principally from the East South Central states, with only Los Angeles and Newark dependent upon migrants from other census bureau divisions. The rise of the newer centers reflects regional changes in economic opportunity and the maturing of individual migration streams. Movement between individual regional centers is likewise proving of greater relative importance in promoting growth of the newer ghetto centers (Figure 2).

The most recent newcomers to major non-southern cities are arriving at a time when physical expansion of the city, in most instances, is no longer possible. If the current process of in-city residential replacement occurs simply along racial lines, then one can anticipate the city and the ghetto representing a synonymous configuration in several instances before the end of this century. That most black migrants are changing their place of residence during the life-cycle stage of maximum family formation (the age range 20-29 years) accelerates the potential for growth.

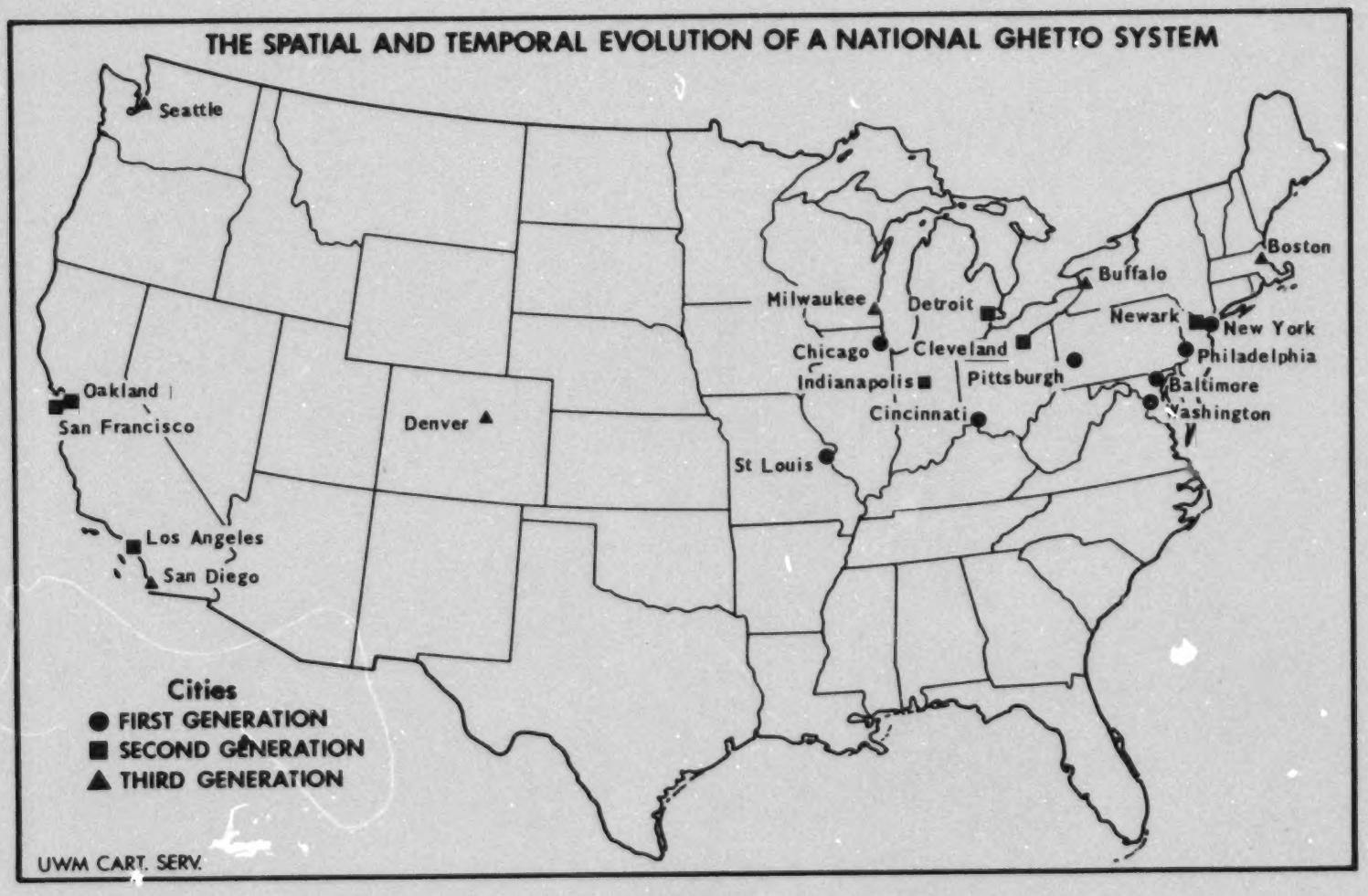
THE SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL EVOLUTION OF A NATIONAL GHETTO SYSTEM
Seattle
Oakland
San Francisco
Los Angeles
San Diego
Denver
St Louis
Milwaukee
Detroit
Chicago
Cleveland
Indianapolis
Pittsburgh
Cincinnati
Buffalo
Newark
New York
Boston
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Washington
Cities
FIRST GENERATION
SECOND GENERATION
THIRD GENERATION
UWM CART. SERV.

FIGURE 1.

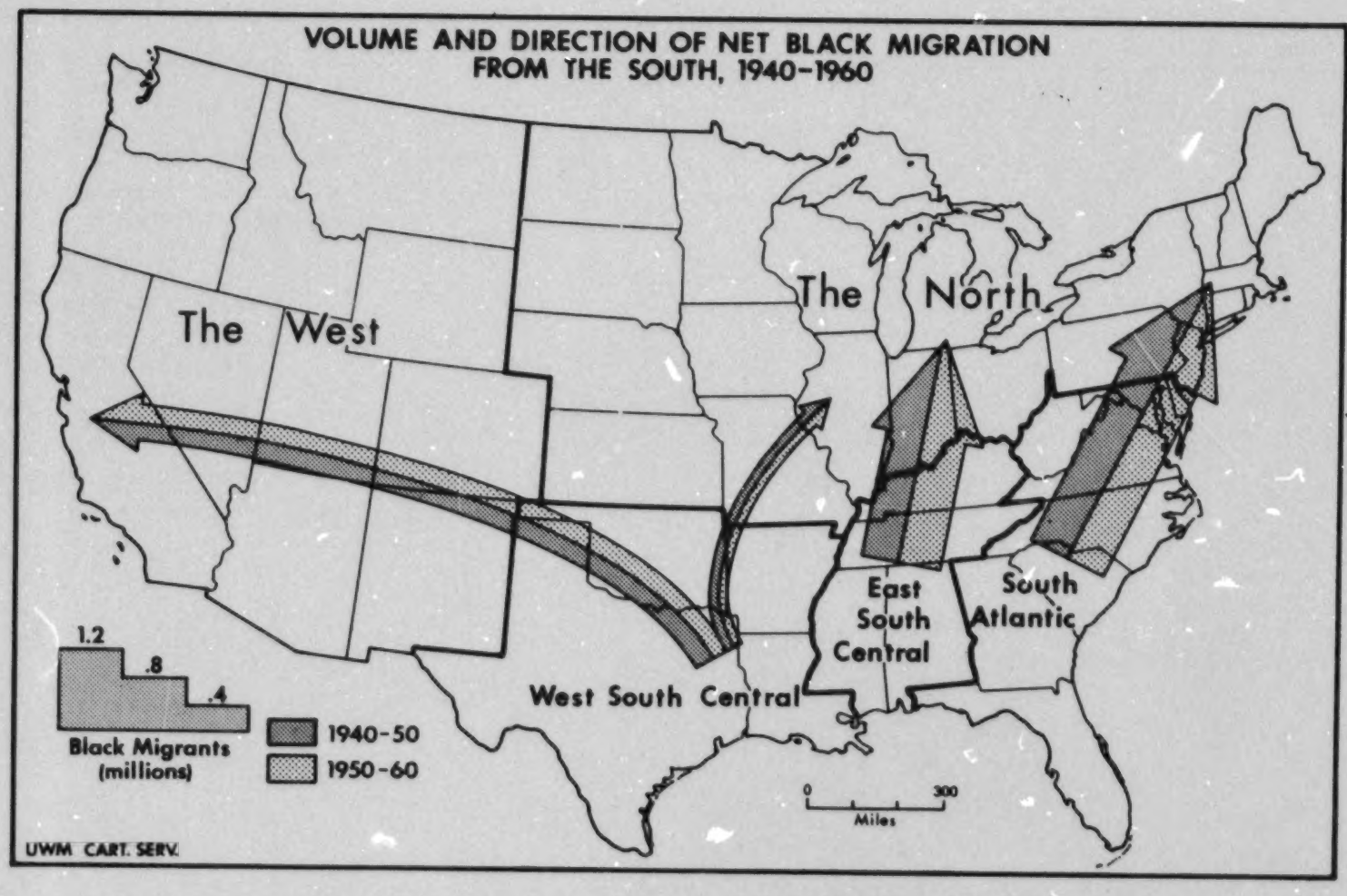
VOLUME AND DIRECTION OF NET BLACK MIGRATION
FROM THE SOUTH, 1940–1960
The West
The North
East South Central
South Atlantic
West South Central
1.2
.8
.4
Black Migrants (millions)
1940-50
1950-60
0
300
Miles
UWM CART. SERV.

FIGURE 2.

IV. The Location of Ghetto Space

The zone of black occupance in American cities is variable in both scale and pattern, but generally tends to radiate out from a location near the fringes of the cities' central business district in one or more directions. But the evolution of a quasi-formal mechanism designed to direct the pattern of ghetto development must await the presence of a black population of some critical magnitude. Weaver (1948), in describing the evolution of the black ghetto, has pointed out that the black population has always been clustered, but not always concentrated to the extent that has characterized such clusters in the recent period. A previous dispersed pattern of black residential occupance prevailed in the older ghetto centers prior to the beginning of the "great migration." The previous pattern of dispersion was in part contingent upon the symbiotic economic relationship which existed between whites and blacks, since blacks tended to represent basically a servant population. The entry of large numbers of black migrants who were forced to compete for the supply of low-cost housing with other low-income immigrant groups intensified the demand in the low-income sector of the housing market. This contingency was countered with strategies designed to maximize the profits of realtors and to minimize the social conflict between the competing groups. Such strategies led to the development of a territorial base that was to provide future support for a set of social and economic institutions catering to a race or ethnic-specific clientele. The prevalence of ethnic hostilities arising out of this situation is reflected in the accounts of the recurring race riots during the era. Social group conflict, coupled with a previous record of legal subordination with all of its psychological implications, fostered the promotion of institutions designed to segregate groups spatially along racial lines in American cities. Racial separation, a legacy which is still with us, is one which does not appear to diminish significantly with time.

The original ports of entry of black urbanizing population were centered in areas that might be described as slum or blighted. The notion of serving an apprentice period of residence in a slum environment is considered in some circles a natural stage in the process of economic development of urbanizing populations. There have been some attempts to model the slum economic development process, at least for developing countries (Frankenhoff, 1967). In one recent attempt to formulate a theory of slums, the special case of the black territorial community is analyzed (Stokes, 1962). Black slums were shown to possess one unique distinction—their non-escalatory or caste-like quality. In describing Chicago's South Side, as an example of this situation, Stokes (1962) states:

> Bronzeville, in its growth, gives little clue to the life and growth of a gigantic city of which it is a part. Forced to develop their own subcultures, Bronzeville's inhabitants are building their own city. (p. 193)

It is apparent that black ghetto space is initially sited in one of the low-income sectors near the margin of the central business district. Its location in alternative sectors is related to the initial timing and the presence of hostile others in adjacent low-income sectors. One writer has described Negro residential patterns as more concentric than sectoral (Anderson, 1962), but upon attaining maturity the sectoral pattern tends to emerge. The rate of growth and the rent-paying ability of the black population strongly influence the completeness of the sectoral arrangement. If there is a disproportionate number of blacks with limited rent-paying ability seeking housing

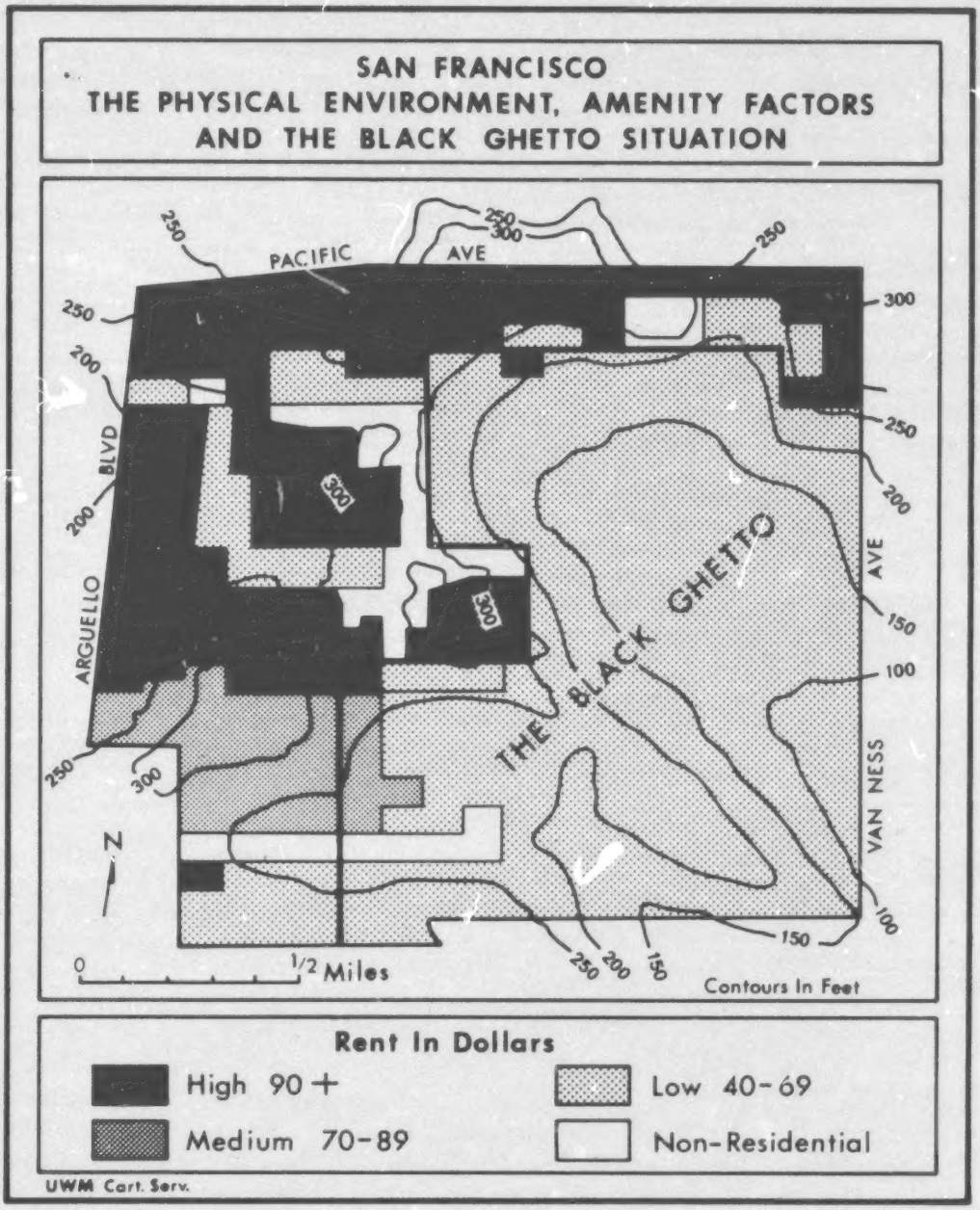
SAN FRANCISCO
THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT, AMENITY FACTORS
AND THE BLACK GHETTO SITUATION
PACIFIC AVE
ARGUELLO BLVD
VAN NESS AVE
THE BLACK GHETTO
250
300
200
150
100
N
0
1/2 Miles
Contours In Feet
Rent In Dollars
High 90 +
Medium 70-89
Low 40-69
Non-Residential
UWM Cart. Serv.

FIGURE 3.

accommodations, a new ghetto cluster is sometimes formed in an alternate low-income sector. Thus, in a number of the older ghetto centers a polynucleated ghetto pattern has tended to evolve. The sectoral pattern is truncated, in some instances, as a result of topographic variations with their associated amenity characteristics. The presence of hilly terrain sometimes serves as a barrier to the spread of the ghetto, as residential development on such sites is often aimed at upper-income residential markets (Figure 3).

Under these circumstances, the middle-income black populations are physically separated from low-income populations. An obvious deformation in the pattern of sectoral development would occur in this situation. The most apparent evidence of sectoral expansion occurs in those cities where the terrain is essentially regular. Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Milwaukee possess obvious examples of patterns of sectoral ghetto development. In some of these cities a pattern of multi-sector development can be observed. Pittsburgh and San Francisco, both of which are characterized by irregular terrain, can be described as possessing a series of polynuclear ghetto clusters, which at the present stage of development are not clearly sectoral in form. It appears that the thesis which describes ghetto clusters as more concentric than sectoral in their development is not entirely accurate, especially with regard to the larger central cities of the north.

The strength of the pattern of sectoral development can be illustrated by the utilization of the measures employed by Davies in an attempt to investigate problems relating to social distance (Davies, 1964).* Of the various measures utilized, the index of sector concentration is especially well suited to test sectoral versus concentric zonation of patterns of black residential development. As a means of examining the strength of sectoral development, the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was subdivided into six sectors and the proportion of the total black population of each sector was determined. It was found that 75 percent of the black population was concentrated in a single sector, while a second sector contained 21 percent. Thus, 96 percent of the black population lived in two of the six sectors.

Within each sector it is possible to determine the extent to which the population is concentrated toward or away from the central business district. The latter measure could be employed as an index of social stratification within sectors. But, more important still, it may be employed to illustrate the extent to which blacks have shared in the supply of recently developed housing (Figure 4). In the Milwaukee case there is strong evidence of sector centralization. The absence of blacks from the outer zones of the sector indicates that they have had only limited access to the housing more recently developed within the sector. The absence of blacks from the outermost rings of a given sector is influenced by income characteristics, life cycle or age structure characteristics, and discrimination on the part of financial institutions and representatives of the real estate industry.

In an urban situation where the black population is youthful and incomes are relatively low, it would be only logical to expect a more rapid shift of population between sectors than within sectors beyond some critical distance ring. Yet, in an urban center where the black population is both large and has been present in the city for an extended period of time, the ghetto might extend the entire distance of a sector. The location of ghetto space at any given time in the process of ghetto development is contingent upon a host of factors, but a zone contiguous to areas previously identified as an area of black residential occupance is a prime choice.

*Social distance is an expression of the extent to which members of some specific social group, usually an ethnic group, agrees to share social space with members of another such group.

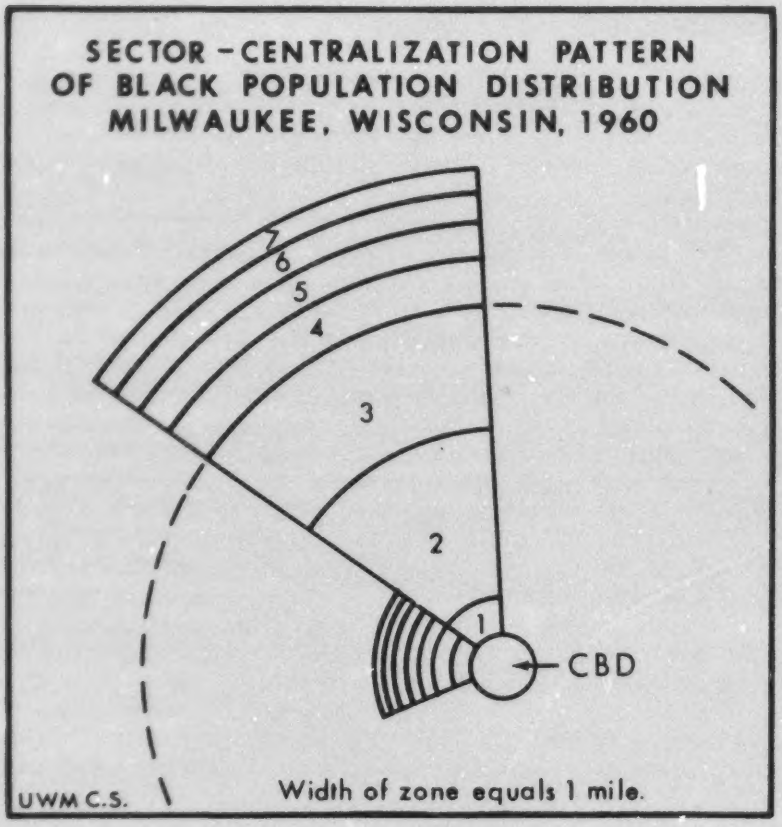
SECTOR - CENTRALIZATION PATTERN
OF BLACK POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, 1960
6
5
4
3
2
1
CBD
UWM C.S.
Width of zone equals 1 mile.

FIGURE 4.

V. The Ghetto Forming Mechanism

Having determined that the ghetto is a universal spatial configuration in large urban centers, we are now able to attempt an explanation of the mechanism which produces such spatial patterns. The ghetto producing mechanism is a very complex one involving the interaction of a host of social, economic, and political variables, and on a series of levels. It is quite clear that a combination of individual and institutional behavior has resulted in the creation of a set of social-spatial units which are self-perpetuating. The simplest approach to an understanding of the ghetto forming mechanism is to view it through the operation of the housing market.

In American cities, additional housing is added to the total supply in annual increments in response to the volume of demand that the building construction industry perceives to exist. Since builders are constrained by the availability of financial resources, the actual number of units constructed, as well as the type, is only finally arrived at after consultation with financial institutions. The total annual increase in the volume of supply is the surplus of new construction minus the number of demolitions and/or changes in the number of conversions. Thus, there is a constant increase in the availability of new housing units at the upper limits of the income range and a dwindling supply at the lower end of the range. Although new construction and demolitions are frequently spatially divergent, especially in the case of owner occupancy, they have ramifications for the location and quality of housing within the context of the ghetto.

If residential occupance was essentially related to the matching of residents with housing units in terms of their ability to pay, then a random residential assignment could be made, constrained only by rent paying abilities, and it would work against the formation of the ghetto. But this would represent an idealized kind of scheme that would eliminate from consideration all other housing choice preferences.

A metropolitan housing market is actually a series of submarkets aimed at satisfying a variety of preferences, most of which represent a combination of economic and social choices. While the metropolitan housing market might be viewed as a single market for some purposes (Smith, 1966), it cannot be considered such if the economic and social variables are to be partitioned. Thus, the role of public policy, which reflects social attitudes on housing market operations, should constantly be kept in mind. The policy of more than a generation ago of the Federal Housing Administration actually promoted racially homogeneous housing markets (Grier and Grier, 1966). At the local level, the "yes" votes for Proposition Fourteen in California and the support for the Detroit Home Owners Ordinance represent actions taken during the last five years which reflect social attitudes that impinge upon housing market operations. A national open occupancy law was passed by Congress in 1968 in an attempt to alter the way in which housing markets operate with regard to social variables.

Real estate interests are strong supporters of the perceived public will. Real estate agents have been accused of actively promoting separate housing markets based on the race of prospective tenants (Denton, 1967). Much of the legislation designed to support racially homogeneous neighborhoods has received the backing of these groups. Likewise, real estate associations have frequently stated in their promotional materials that the presence of non-homogeneous racial groups in a neighborhood tends to depress housing values (Denton, 1967). Regardless of their motivations, representatives of the real estate interests have similarly been accused of promoting the expansion of the

ghetto by inducing white residents to sell in fear of non-white entry producing declining housing value. These tactics are described in some quarters as "blockbusting" and are thought by some to represent the principal agent of racial neighborhood change. Where these conditions prevail, not only are realtors transmitters of the culture, but they tend to maximize their profits in the process. The whole question of the realtors' perception of the long-term profits which might accrue as a result of ghetto expansion was only recently investigated (Smolensky, Becker, and Molotch, 1968). While real estate agents have been active in the maintenance of the ghetto, they have received undeniable aid from the average citizen to whose convictions they lend credence.

White Response to Black Encroachment

The involvement of segments of both the public and private sectors of the economy has done much to promote ghetto formation and expansion, but it is the decision that is made at the individual level that permits ghetto formation to proceed. The general unwillingness of whites to share social space with blacks is the crucial issue which promotes ghetto formation and expansion. This unwillingness is sometimes expressed as a fear of loss of dominance. It was recently stated by Downs (1968) in the following way:

> These whites—like most other middle-class citizens of any race—want to be sure that the social, cultural and economic milieu and values of their own group dominate their own residential environment and the educational environment of their children. (p. 1338)

Downs, like others, seems to confuse class and culture in attempting to legitimize behavior. This view is no more valid than that of black nationalists who justify separatism on grounds that it is in the best interest of the black population. In both instances, cultural attributes or life-style differences are employed to validate a given set of demands. The fact that there exist ghetto clusters that are made up of both lower- and middle-class populations, which are in some instances non-contiguous, tends to further weaken the merits of the simplistic social class argument. Grodzins attempted to clarify this point more than a decade ago when he pointed out that black lower-class populations and black middle-class populations tend to occupy areas that were the place of residence of white middle-class populations (Grodzins, 1958). In both instances, this might possibly represent an over-simplification of what actually occurs, but there is little question that a sorting out takes place along income lines (Figure 5).

Both Grodzins and Wolf have described neighborhood change in terms of the operation of a tipping mechanism (Grodzins, 1958, and Wolf, 1963). The tipping mechanism reflects both the level of black occupancy within a neighborhood which promotes accelerated outmovement of whites on the one hand and the refusal of whites to enter such an area on the other. Grodzins is careful to point out that no single tipping point exists, but that it varies from neighborhood to neighborhood and from one community to another. The social and physical ecology of an area no doubt produces variations in behavior under conditions of racial change. There are those who contend that the lowering of neighborhood status associated with non-white entry, rather than the existence of prejudice, promotes white abandonment (Fishman, 1961). There is evidence that whites are now showing greater taste for integration, but, paradoxically, the change is coming at a time when there seems to be a declining interest in integration among blacks. Needless to say, these changes in attitude have had no significant impact on the magnitude of the ghetto.

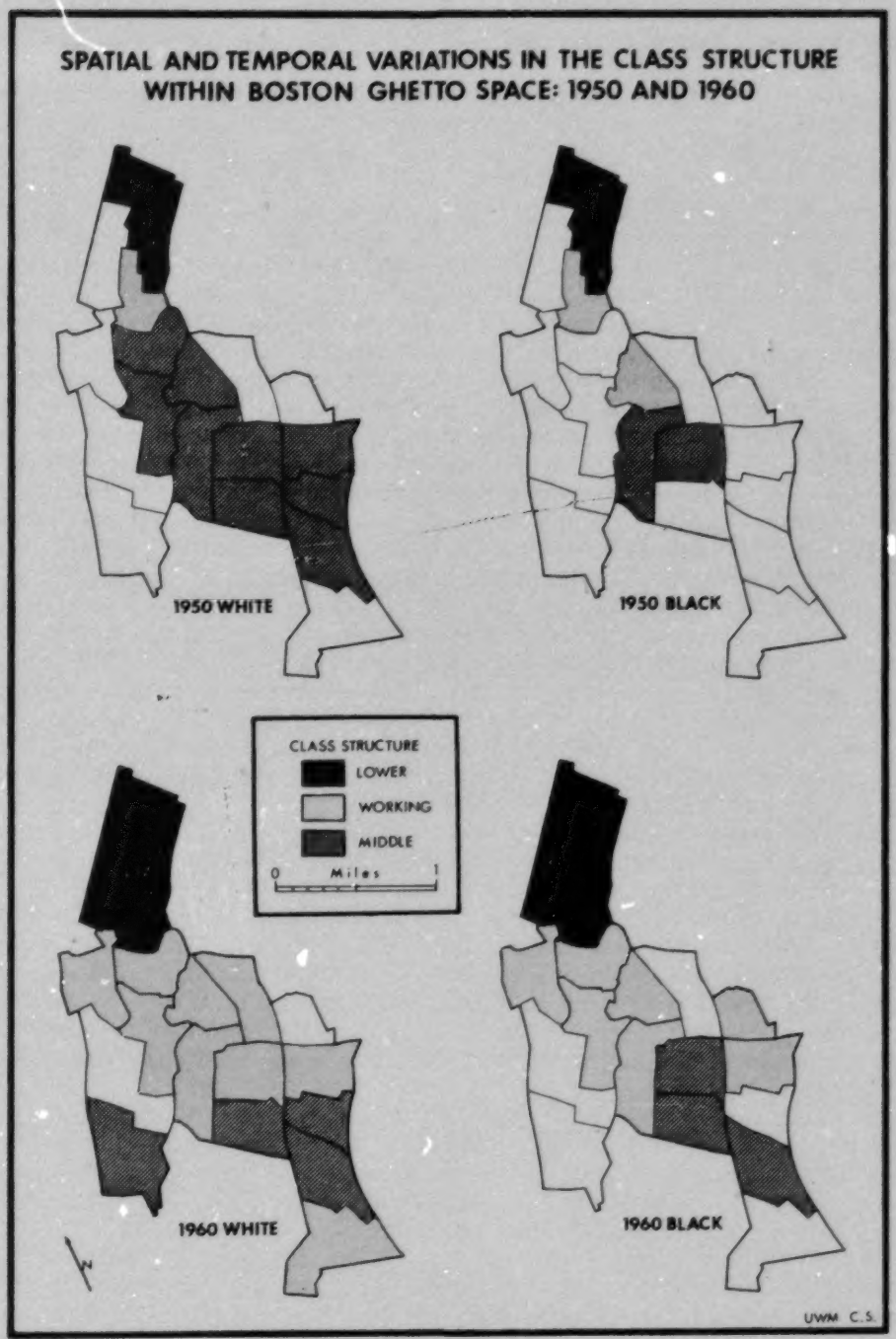
SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL VARIATIONS IN THE CLASS STRUCTURE WITHIN BOSTON GHETTO SPACE: 1950 AND 1960
1950 WHITE
1950 BLACK
CLASS STRUCTURE
LOWER
WORKING
MIDDLE
0 Miles 1
1960 WHITE
1960 BLACK
UWM C.S.

FIGURE 5.

Steady improvement in the level of income of young white household heads has done much to spur the growth of suburbia, which is yet essentially a white residential zone. The most recent assessment of the status of integrated residential development placed the proportion of the population residing in integrated areas at 19 percent (Sudman, Bradburn, and Cockel, 1969). Integration in this instance referred to a housing market concept rather than a sociological one. Since an integrated area was defined as one where both whites and blacks were entering and there existed a willingness to live in close proximity under conditions of social equality, it was instructive to note that the percentage residing in substantially integrated areas (>10 percent black) was only 4.5 percent (Sudman, Bradburn, and Cockel, 1969). This implies an unwillingness of whites to accept blacks under conditions of stability beyond some critical level.

There is little doubt that black residential encroachment elicits a white response in the form of accelerated leaving rates and declining entry rates. It is most difficult to specify, with any degree of precision, the level of this response because of the operation of a host of complex variables. Age structure, ethnic identity, income level, and tenancy characteristics are among the variables which influence the decision to make an actual move under conditions of black encroachment, as well as conditions unrelated to racial identity. However difficult black encroachment may be to separate from other variables, there is almost universal agreement that it is a conditioning factor. A recent attempt to evaluate this phenomenon employed nine variables in a regression format, as a means of shedding light on the explanatory strength of each variable relative to the spatial spread of the black population. The regression model utilized data recorded in 1950 and 1960 for a common area. The nine variables included ecological, demographic, and social factors. While these nine variables explained less than half of the total variance, the variable contributing most to the explanation was the percent of population which was black in 1950. This factor alone accounted for more than half of the explained variance. A reduction in the size of the areal units may have resulted in a greater explanation of the variance.

A more recent attempt to make operational the concept of the tipping point as a means of specifying the strength of racial reaction on the neighborhood leaving rate of whites has been undertaken by Levine (1968). Levine's formulation included a parameter k_o, which expresses the influences of all other factors independent of the actual number of non-whites in the neighborhood on white leaving rates, and a parameter k_1, which is described as a proportionality factor reflecting attitudes related to the actual presence of non-whites within the neighborhood. The parameter k_o, while not directly related to the presence of non-whites, does include the impact of the assumed future racial composition of the neighborhood on leaving rates. The equation describing the tipping point is of the exponential type.*

Others concerned with this same general problem have likewise been inclined to investigate it using the tipping point approach. Since the racial composition of the schools is often mentioned as influencing the leaving rate of whites, a recent study addressed itself to the question of tipping points in the changing racial composition of Baltimore city schools (Stinchcombe, McDill, and Walker, 1969). The conclusion reached by these researchers indicates there is no tipping point in school leaving behavior, but prejudice is instead revealed as a continuous phenomenon which supports the concept of social distance. In this situation there is evidence of accelerated leaving

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* $$R(t) = \left[R(O) + \frac{k_o}{k_1} \right] e^{k_1 t} - \frac{k_o}{k_1}$$

rates as the proportion of blacks in the school population increases. While school leaving rates and neighborhood leaving rates are not ideal proxies for one another, they do represent a common class of phenomena and are governed by a set of very similar notions.

If it is generally agreed that race is a social factor which serves as a catalyst to accelerate white abandonment at the neighborhood level, then this notion may be simply tested by applying a normative set of age specific mobility rates to the white population at-risk, residing in an area, on the basis of its age structure characteristics at the beginning of a census interval. The application of this set of rates through n time periods should provide one with a measure of the expected size of the population in a closed system after n operations. Negative differences between the expected size of the population and the actual size of the population should provide an index of the strength of the racial factor in promoting the change in the racial composition of the population.

Observations of the moving behavior of the white population in several contiguous areas in Boston covering a 10-year period demonstrated that normative mobility rates are indeed accelerated once the black population reaches some critical level. In the eight census tracts from which observations were made, there were two in which the actual population was approximately one-half the size of the expected population and an additional two tracts in which the actual and expected values were nearly coincident. In the remaining tracts, the actual population exceeded the expected. Rates were high in those tracts with a sizeable black cluster in the initial time period and in tracts where a black cluster was situated nearby (Figure 6). Thus, the spatial arrangement of the black population within a census tract appears to be equally as important as the proportion of blacks residing in a tract at the beginning of the period. The size of the unit of observation, coupled with the temporal dynamics of human behavior, disguises much that is pertinent to understanding the intricacies of this delicate process.

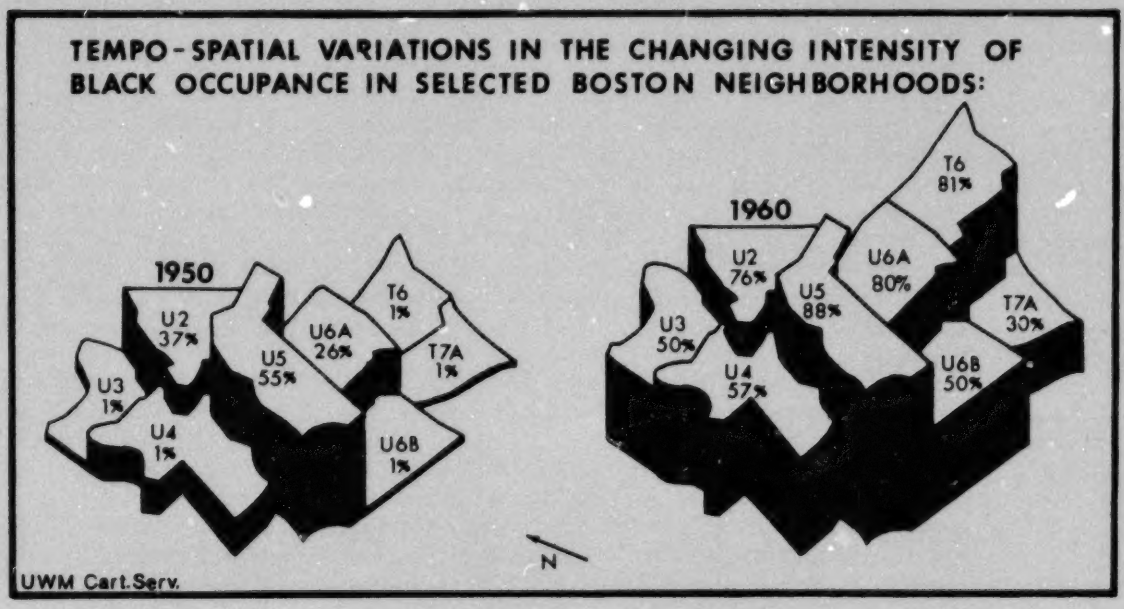

FIGURE 6.

Variation in the intensity of leaving rates is strongly associated with age. In those tracts in which accelerated abandonment occurred, the ratio of actual to expected was smallest in the age groups 40-54 at the end of the interval and, secondarily, in the age group 15-19. This, in fact, might reflect in part a concern over the racial composition of the schools, as these groups represented those families with school age children at the beginning of the interval. In the zone of most intense abandonment, the ratio of actual to expected was less than one in every age group. Although in two areas of intense abandonment the ratio exceeds one in the 25-34 age group and 70-and-above age group, this partially reflects limited white entry among the younger age groups and retarded movement associated with extreme advanced age (Figure 7).

Table 1 shows the variations in the actual to expected ratio by age and sex in two of the census tracts characterized by intense abandonment. Tract U5 was 55 percent Negro in 1950, yet tract T6 was less than one percent Negro in 1950. A more rapid racial transition characterized the latter area, as it was 81 percent Negro in 1960, just seven percentage points lower than the percentage characterizing the former area, which was already more than 50 percent Negro in the initial time period. The differential leaving rate of the white population in the two areas is not readily explainable. An investigation of census data relating to "year moved in structure" and "housing unit of residence in 1955" clearly indicated that it was during the latter half of the decade that racial transition was accelerated. On the basis of indirect observations it appears that the Negro population of the area ranged between 20 and 30 percent in 1955, but had reached 81 percent five years later. This behavior is in accord with that normally expected under conditions of racial change. Simmons (1968) had this to say about the rate of racial turnover:

> If whites panic, the turnover takes place rapidly, affecting as many as 75 per cent of the dwellings in two or three years. The mobility rate for Negroes increases as the normal rate of white out-migration (about 50 per cent in five years) is accelerated by racial and economic fears. (p. 634)

Generalizations regarding white behavior are sometimes attributed to ethnic and class differences. Differential resistance to black neighborhood entry has been exhibited by various ethnic representatives. Clark recently noted that the strongest resistance to black neighborhood incursion has been traditionally fostered by Poles and other Slavic immigrant groups (Clark, 1964). In various cities and at different times, outbursts of violence have occurred in a variety of ethnic enclaves at the time of arrival of the first black family. Attempts during the summer of 1966 to break the barriers of exclusion in several ethnic enclaves in Chicago led to overt physical hostility aimed at demonstrators promoting open occupancy. This reaction led the late Dr. Martin Luther King to exclaim: "I have never seen such hostility, such hate, anywhere in my life." (National Observer, 1966). Thus, the presence of hostile others in adjacent residential sectors is sometimes responsible for the more rapid linear than axial spread of the ghetto.

It has become increasingly apparent that the black ghetto gains its initial foothold in zones originally occupied by the Jewish ethnic group and tends to spread out from this initial settlement area into other areas of less resistance. Since the Jewish group has moved up the socio-economic ladder more rapidly than other ethnic groups, a more rapid abandonment of the zone of initial occupance should be expected. Likewise, a minimum of hostility might be anticipated on the part of a group experiencing similar dominant group antagonisms. One of the clearest examples of Jewish-black neighborhood succession can be observed in the Roxbury section of Boston.

Suburban attitudes regarding black access to housing might be employed as a means of reflecting class differences. There is an apparent weakness in employing this

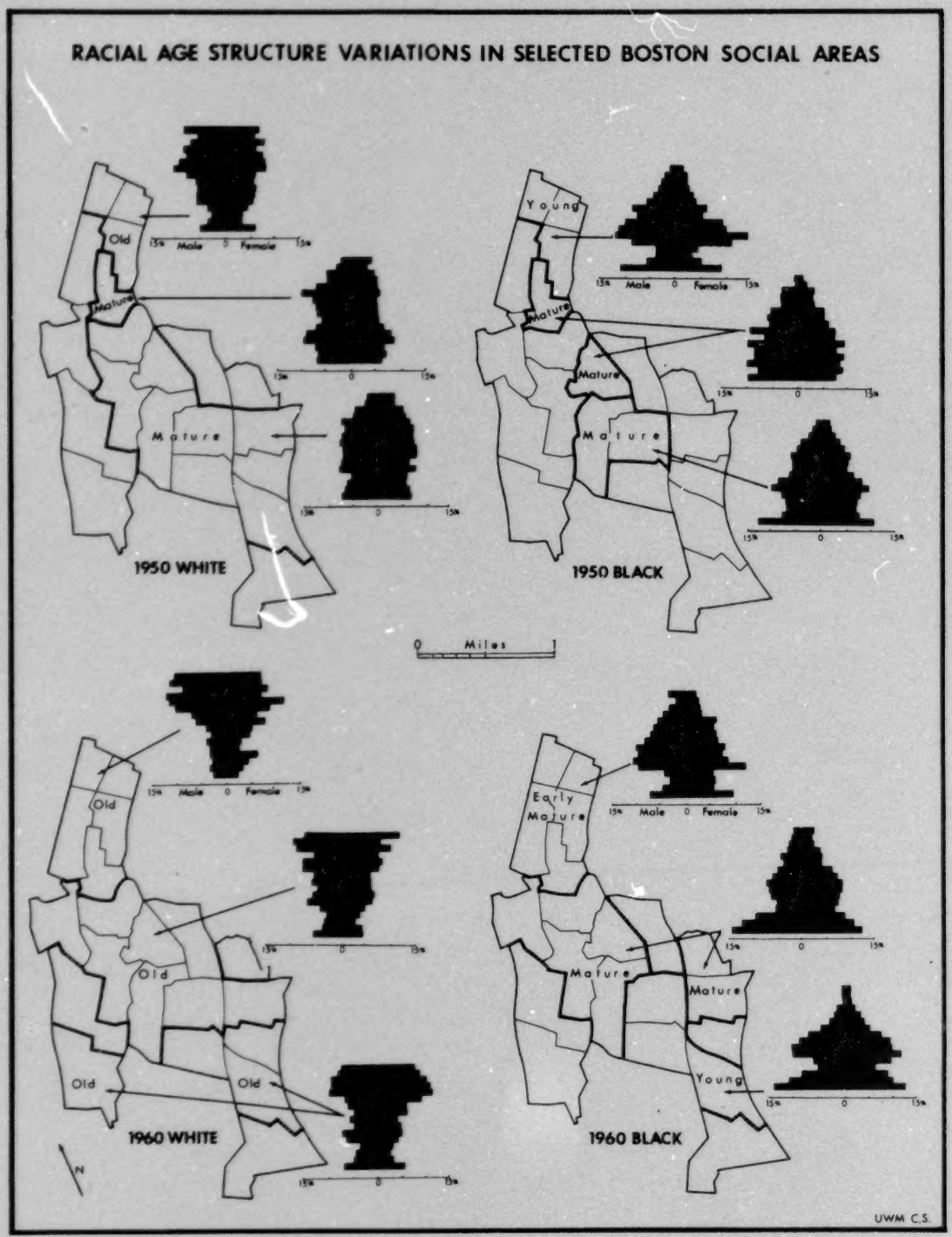
RACIAL AGE STRUCTURE VARIATIONS IN SELECTED BOSTON SOCIAL AREAS
Old
Mature
Mature
1950 WHITE
Young
Mature
Mature
Mature
1950 BLACK
0 Miles
Old
Old
Old
Old
1960 WHITE
N
Early Mature
Mature
Mature
Young
1960 BLACK
15% Male 0 Female 15%
UWM C.S.

FIGURE 7.

TABLE 1

The Ratio of Actual Population to Expected Population Under Conditions of Assumed Normal Mobility: 1950-1960

Age	Tract U5		Tract T6	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4	.42	.34	.58	.48
5 - 9	.28	.28	.43	.38
10 - 14	.28	.17	.35	.43
15 - 19	.22	.31	.38	.23
20 - 24	.55	.61	.47	.66
25 - 29	1.33	1.03	.54	.75
30 - 34	1.04	.82	.70	.62
35 - 39	.64	.49	.45	.48
40 - 44	.64	.43	.40	.30
45 - 49	.37	.37	.34	.35
50 - 54	.58	.52	.36	.31
55 - 59	.60	.60	.42	.51
60 - 64	.45	.59	.67	.42
65 - 69	.82	1.02	.80	.87
70 - 74	1.09	.96	.90	.40
75+	.63	1.20	.61	.89

type of surrogate since suburban populations likewise vary greatly in terms of income and previous social status. A recent report submitted to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders states that no significant differences in attitudes regarding racial discrimination of central city whites and suburban whites exist (Campbell and Schuman, 1968). But with regard to housing, the report had this to say:

> The one point at which suburban people show a special sensitivity is in the area of segregated housing. They are more likely to support the proposition that white people may properly keep Negroes out of their neighborhood if they wish, and they show more resistance to the prospect of having a Negro family living next door. These differences are small, less than ten percentage points, but they are not chance.

Findings of this type were previously noted as a means of describing the insecurity of "junior executive" suburbs (Clark, 1964). It was also noted that these communities lacked the potential for violence which characterized immigrant enclaves. Middle-income voters likewise expressed greater support for anti-fair-housing legislation in Detroit than persons representing the extreme income positions (Hahn, 1968). While variations prevail among white residents in their response to the actual and anticipated presence of black neighbors, there appears to exist a universal pattern of refusal to share social space once the black population reaches some critical level.

The Black Dilemma and the Housing Market

The black population has continuously been confronted by a series of dilemmas in the housing market. These dilemmas have revolved around: 1) the absolute availability of shelter; 2) the cost of shelter; 3) the quality of urban shelter; and 4) the provision of social services within the context of the black urban housing market. These various dilemmas, save the last, have no doubt minimized concern regarding the attachment of the ghetto designation to areas of predominantly black occupance. Throughout most of the black population's experience in urban America, housing within the context of ghetto occupance was an accepted fact of life, as various legal and quasi-legal restraints prevented the development of an alternative pattern. Even today, some scholars are advising blacks against devoting their energies toward the curtailment of ghetto development, a task which is believed to be insurmountable, but to focus simply on acquiring sound housing (Piven and Cloward, 1967). This position is apparently based upon a concern for the plight of the black poor, but it has not gone unchallenged by others with similar concerns (Funnye and Shiffman, 1967). That the dilemma has been heightened within the last few years is apparent, as the quest for black identity coincides with the period of rising incomes on the part of a segment of the black population. No satisfactory resolution to this dilemma appears on the horizon, but if the past is a key to the future, ghetto gilding is likely to represent the chief strategy, as it is likely to antagonize the smallest number of people at this time, black or white.

The large-scale movement of the black population out of the South during two previous generations has resulted in a gradual improvement in the quality of housing occupied by members of the group. This, in part, reflects the poor quality of housing in the rural South in general, a quality deemed congruent with the status of the rural black population of the region. Yet, in an attempt to assess the role of housing on rural to urban migration, it was recently found that there appeared to exist no significant relationship between these phenomena (Pearson, 1963). Traditionally, housing has simply satisfied the basic shelter needs of the black population. It has not provided status in the same way that it has for the white population. Of course, this situation has tended to change as class crystallization has emerged within the black community. Frequently in the South, during a former era, it was necessary for blacks to allow the external decor of housing to reflect their downtrodden status, while the interior might reflect comfortable accommodations. There is likewise some evidence of discrepancy between external decor and internal appearance of housing occupied by blacks in sections of northern ghettos.

While the quality of black-occupied residential structures did improve during the period 1950-1960, blacks continued to occupy lower quality housing at every rental cost level than their white counterparts with similar incomes (Frieden, 1964; Rapkin, 1966; and McEntire, 1960). This situation reflects housing cost differences prevailing

in different submarkets, or what has been described as the "color tax." The rapid increase in black housing demand in many major metropolitan systems has made it profitable, in the short run, for segments of the real estate industry to speed up the process of racial change in zones of interracial contact. Now, for the first time, efforts are being made at the national level to curb such practices on the part of realtors by imposing legal penalties. Thus, the inability of black residents to secure housing, without difficulty, outside of a caste-oriented market has temporarily enabled them to improve the general quality of their housing, but at a higher rental cost in terms of comparable housing situated in other submarkets. That blacks can afford housing outside of the caste-oriented submarket has been previously documented. According to one set of recent calculations (Langendorf, 1969), the black working class represents a sizeable potential market for non-ghetto oriented housing, in terms of its purchasing ability.

If attention is focused solely on rental housing within the confines of the central city, it becomes obvious that cultural factors take precedence over economic factors in determining where people will live. Rental housing data are employed simply because the great majority of blacks tend to be renters rather than owners—a situation which is an outgrowth of their position in the life cycle, their financial insecurity, and housing types (ex., single-family detached, multi-family duplex) available in the ghetto submarket. In 1960, approximately 83 percent of Boston's black households were classed as renters. Considering the nature of the housing type prevalent in the ghetto submarket, it would be difficult to reduce this tenure status below 60 percent, because of the predominance of multi-family units. The only alternative to this tenure status, then, is to make additional housing available in alternative markets or to develop alternative housing types within ghetto space. The following table illustrates the percentage and number of persons, on a racial basis, in the same rental category in two cities.

TABLE 2

Race and Rent in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Boston, Massachusetts: 1960

Gross Rent (monthly)	Milwaukee		Boston	
	Per Cent Non-White Households	Per Cent White Households	Per Cent Non-White Households	Per Cent White Households
Less than $20	.974	.068	.3	.4
$20-39	2.7	4.7	6.5	6.8
$40-59	12.5	10.8	24.6	17.9
$60-79	27.8	22.6	32.7	25.8
$80-99	35.9	28.6	24.9	27.0
$100 or more	19.8	30.6	9.4	20.6
No cash rent	1.0	2.3	1.3	1.1

Source: U. S. Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC(1) - 18 and PHC(1) - 92.

From the above table it can be observed that the greatest discrepancy by rental class in both cities occurs in the highest rental category, $100 or more. Thus, it is clear that the prevailing residential pattern, as it pertains to rental occupance, is certainly not essentially grounded in economics. It has generally been concluded that discriminatory practices were more prevalent in the rental market than in the owner occupancy market, and thus, for blacks to acquire sound housing, it is often necessary to secure housing in the owner occupancy market. The latter is becoming increasingly difficult to do, as the new single-family units are being priced out of the range of all but the most affluent segment of the black population. Strangely enough, this has resulted in a higher percentage of blacks securing accommodations in new apartment units, rather than new single-family detached units (Housing Surveys, 1968). While price or cost considerations are significant, it appears that the location of housing of a given quality and type in urban space is the chief determinant of its ease of access to members of the black population.

The question of integrated housing, as it has created a dilemma for the black population, has frequently evolved out of a concern for the quality of community life and has thus reflected dissatisfaction with not only the housing package but the manner in which various public and private institutions have addressed themselves to the needs of the black population. The most publicized of these institutional failures has focused on the performance of the schools. The far reaching implications of institutional failure has done much to foment racial conflict. The varied solutions recommended by housing specialists as a means of resolving this conflict reveal in part their own personal dilemma.

The resolution of these various dilemmas is not likely to be achieved in short order, but how much time is available? The burden of breaking out of the black ghetto is an almost impossible task, considering the short-distance nature of most intra-urban moves. This within-ghetto movement pattern is, in part, related to the fact that most moves are prompted by push factors as opposed to pull factors (Straits, 1968). No doubt the frequent changes in occupancy accelerate the rate of deterioration of ghetto structures. Even in those areas where structures are apparently sound at the time of initial black entry, they are already at the threshold of the beginning of accelerated decay. It was recently found that the rate of housing quality decline speeds up significantly after it reaches 18 years of age (Wolfe, 1967). Even the housing acquired by most middle-income blacks has usually surpassed this age at the time of initial occupance. Thus, the acquisition of housing already going down hill by families that are younger and larger than those of previous occupance hastens a process that was previously less perceptible. Frequency of intra-ghetto movement is highest among the lower-income population, and it is in the lower-income or poverty areas that the quality of housing is almost uniformly poor. Column three in Table 3 clearly illustrates the quality of housing available to low-income populations in a number of major cities.

Although the ghetto situation, as it is presently conceived, leads to diminished housing quality in the long run, this does not always serve as an inducement that promotes black abandonment in situations where this is possible. A few researchers have attempted to explain the reluctance of middle-income blacks to leave the ghetto. Blacks who could afford to leave but choose to remain have recently been described as alienated (Bullough, 1967). In another situational analysis, the behavior of middle-class blacks who could afford to escape the ghetto walls but who opted to remain was associated with area of origin and skin color of male household head (Watts and others, 1964). It was postulated that persons of southern origin and male household heads of darker complexion showed a lower propensity for leaving the ghetto. If the above findings have any real basis, they may indicate the existence of a weak form of black

TABLE 3

Poverty Areas as Per Cent of City Area in Selected Cities

	Per Cent of Total Area in Poverty	Per Cent of Poverty Area Occupied by Non-Whites	Per Cent of Substandard Housing
Boston	21.0	85.0	81.0
Baltimore	19.7	84.0	88.0
St. Louis	38.0	87.0	84.0
Detroit	24.8	72.0	82.0
Cleveland	13.9	76.0	75.0
Birmingham	45.0	94.0	89.0
Memphis	22.7	96.0	88.0
Houston	16.9	73.0	72.0
Miami	23.0	90.0	82.0
Denver	22.0	75.0	76.0
Milwaukee	9.1	85.0	57.0
Seattle	6.9	60.0	70.0

Source: Allen D. Manvel, Housing Condition in Urban Poverty Areas, The National Commission on Urban Problems, Research Report No. 9, Washington, D.C., 1968.

ethnicity based on area of origin. Skin color differences and within-group social distinctions have been extensively treated in the past, but are generally considered to be of declining or negligible significance at present. If there are yet color implications associated with between-group interaction, serious complications in the nature of race relations may emerge. It is difficult to imagine that skin color differences within the group would play any meaningful role on future spatial residential patterns in American cities. On the other hand, if they do, it further points out the complexity of the dilemma confronting black Americans.

The solution to these various dilemmas appears almost incomprehensible, as additional complicating forces tend to emerge. The task would probably have been much simpler during a past era, when black desires ("demands") could have been more readily satisfied under conditions of "simple" integration. But a stream of constant rebuffs has weakened the demands for "simple" integration, although a more "complex" form of integration must somehow prevail. The resolution of these dilemmas is then made more complex as a result of the refusal of the white population to concede to demands

for cultural accommodation and to begin to respond to black demands only as a result of cultural conflict. Even in attempting to formulate strategies for postulating alternative patterns of black residential development, one analyst has pointed out that one would have to be aware of the existence of "The Law of Cultural Dominance," supported by the white population, for any strategy to succeed (Downs, 1968). If Downs is correct, cultural pluralism in the form of black nationalism is likely to receive heightened support, thereby minimizing the possibility of actuating several of the alternative strategies formulated.

Available Options

Both whites and blacks have available to them a set of options, the choice of which will determine future residential patterns. The choice of options available might be cast in a game theoretic context. Gaming is becoming increasingly popular as an instructional technique in urban problem analysis. Games of this type include a number of alternative strategies, with their associated payoffs. An individual player chooses a specific strategy as a means of maximizing utility. Utility can be expressed numerically as a means of assessing the value associated with a given choice. The type of game employed here is described as a two-person, non-zero sum game. Two-person, non-zero sum games are mixed motive games, rather than games of pure conflict. Thus, in this type of game it is possible for each player to be rewarded or punished for selecting the same strategy, although differentially.

In the game theoretic context employed to illustrate our problem of residential choice, the construct is termed a Convergence-Divergence Racial Residential Behavioral Model (Figure 8). In terms of neighborhood choice behavior, the following terms can be utilized to describe the combined choice of individual groups: a) convergence-convergence; b) convergence-divergence; c) divergence-convergence; and d) divergence-divergence. Figure 8 (a) illustrates the racial residential pattern associated with each of the above strategies. The values employed in Figure 8 (b) indicate the differential nature of the reward accruing to individual players who choose the same strategy. The values included in each cell simply imply a difference in utility associated with a given strategy.

Strategy 1, 1 of the paradigm seldom occurs at the neighborhood level over an extended period of time. It prevails on a limited scale during the early stages of neighborhood change. Thus, the racially heterogeneous neighborhood pattern which might emerge from this type of behavior is seldom long lived and might be termed "fleeting integration." The very small number of blacks who have abandoned the ghetto likewise have engaged in this type strategy. Strategy 1, 2 is the normative pattern in American cities and has thus led to the current dilemma. Strategy 2, 1 has been fairly common in southern cities, where black shack towns on the periphery of the city have given way to suburban tract developments. Although somewhat less common, this phenomenon is taking place in some northern cities, in those zones that have undergone urban redevelopment, and might be described as the "Urban Renewal Syndrome." Strategy 2, 2 is essentially unknown as a permanent form of behavior in American cities, as it would represent an obviously uneconomic form of behavior. If American society ultimately opted for racial separation within an urban context, on a mutually-agreed-upon basis, then strategy 2, 2 would no doubt represent the normative one.

In Figure 8 (b) a crude and somewhat arbitrary attempt has been made to assign rewards and penalties for specific behavior on the basis of how this behavior is perceived by the individual participant. The assignments are made here primarily for

FIGURE 8.

A CONVERGENCE-DIVERGENCE RACIAL RESIDENTIAL BEHAVIORAL MODEL
(neighborhood based)

a)

Black \ White	Convergence	Divergence
Convergence	1, 1 Dispersion (racial heterogeneity)	1, 2 Segregation (racial homogeneity)
Divergence	2, 1 Segregation (racial homogeneity)	2, 2 Separation (residential buffer between zones of separate development)

b) Payoff Matrix

+ 5, + 1	+ 5, + 10
+ 15, + 5	0, 0 or + 10, + 10

illustrative purposes, but nevertheless an attempt is made to assign values in terms of one's general impression of how these acts are perceived by the initiator in terms of a reward system. A more realistic set of payoffs could be assigned only on the basis of extensive field investigations, drawing samples from a variety of populations, as a means of testing notions about mutually desirable residential patterns and the social and economic consequences emanating therefrom.

Strategy 1, 2 has hampered the black population in gaining access to the full range of housing types available in the market place. It has likewise fostered the occurrence of blight. Since black residents are basically constrained by the availability of housing situated in the black community and since the black community may not extend the entire length of a residential sector, as Figure 9 illustrates in the case of Chicago, then most of the housing available within this market is likely to be considerably older than that occupied by whites in the same life cycle stage.

The actual width of a single housing type zone is essentially a function of the differential rate of population growth through time and the nature of the transportation system during various periods of growth. Thus, the slope of the curve which describes the actual arrangement of groups in social space within the life cycle stage would depend on the building construction history of the individual city. Because of the caste

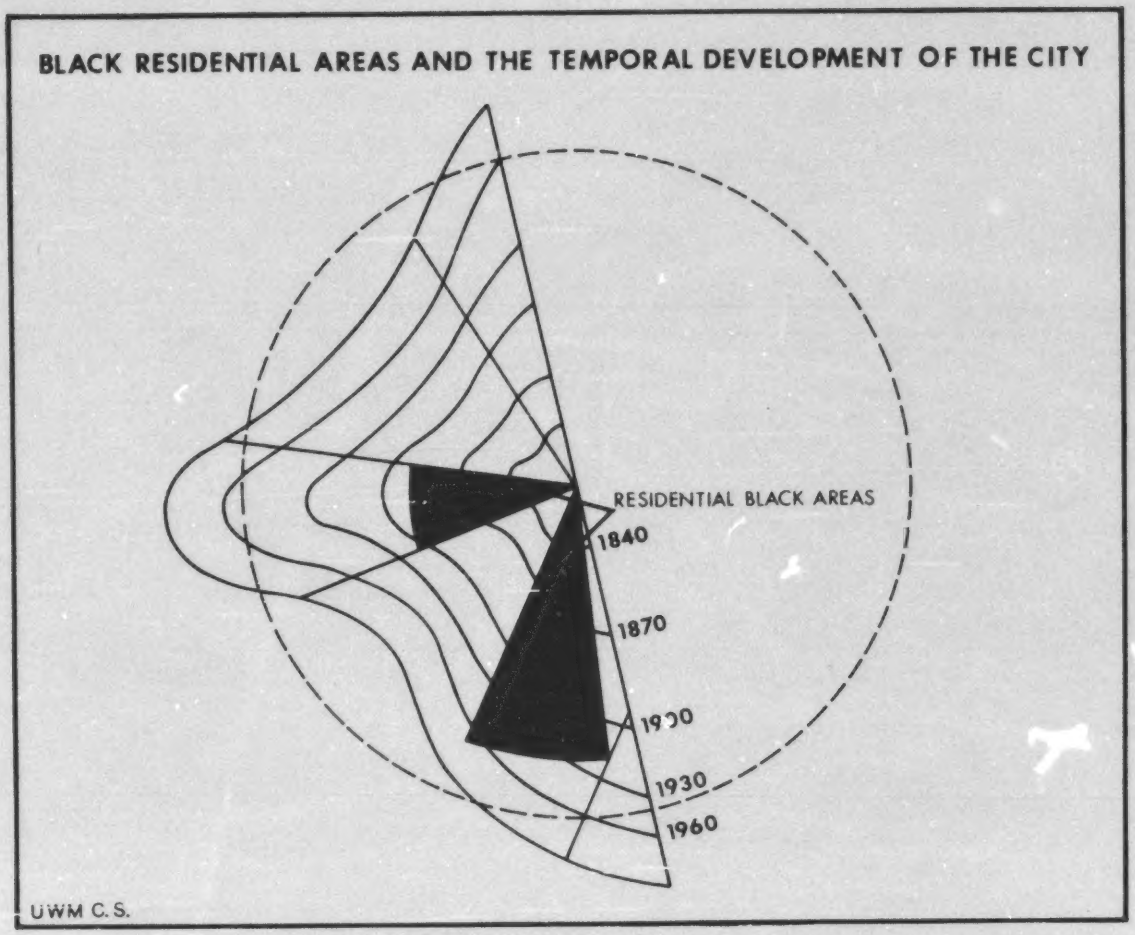

FIGURE 9.

Source: Adapted from Brian S. Berry and Philip Rees, "The Factorial Ecology of Calcutta," The American Journal of Sociology, March 1969, p. 461.

nature of the housing market and the differences in age structure and income distribution of the two populations vying for available housing, it appears unlikely that strategy 1, 2 will ameliorate the housing quality dilemma (Figure 10). Therefore, poor housing and exorbitant cost for housing of comparable structural quality is likely to continue to represent the modal pattern.

Other strategies could result in an improved housing environment, but alternative strategies do not have strong backing at present. Strategy 1, 1 holds the greatest possibility for improving the housing environment but, since it can only be accomplished under conditions of cultural dominance, it is currently of limited appeal to groups supporting "black awareness." A shift in the position of cultural dominance to one of mutual respect and shared values could do much to facilitate an improvement in the housing environment of a segment of the black population under conditions other than that of separate development. The matter is made yet more complex, though, by a previous failure to resolve the school dilemma. The increasing demand emanating from the black

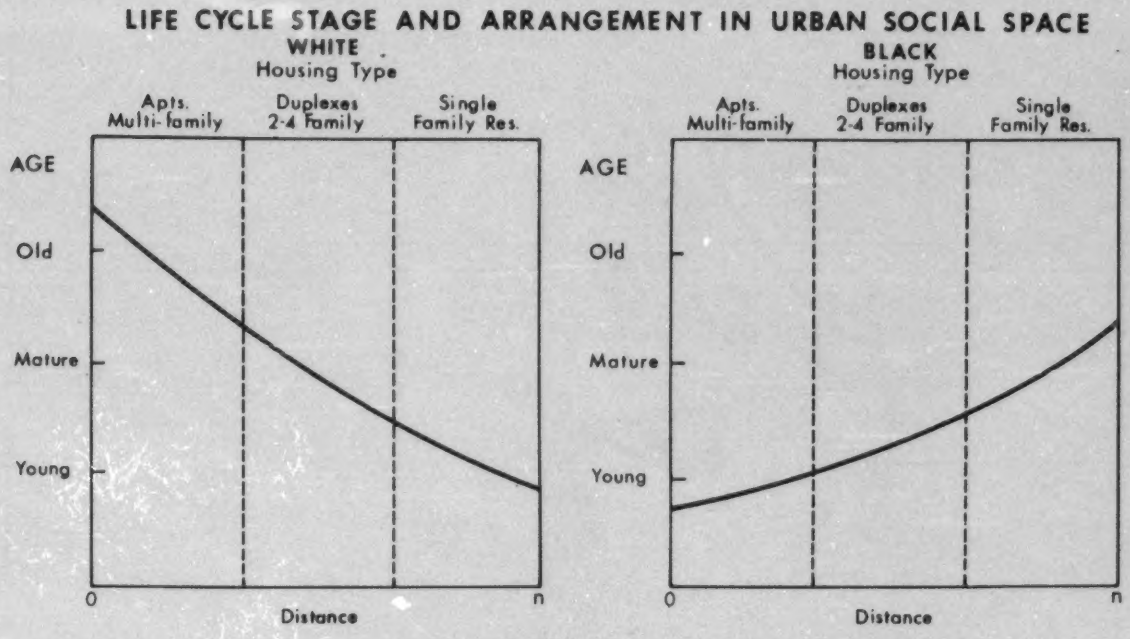

FIGURE 10

even the control of community institutions within the context of a continuously declining physical environment is not likely to be satisfying for long. Friesema (1969) recently noted that the rapid rise in black urban populations might assure the possibility of black political control, but at the expense of gaining only a hollow prize. In clarifying his position, he went on to say:

> If black control of cities does not lead to improvements in Negroes' economic and social positions, and provides black men with only a highly attenuated and penetrated base of power, blacks are worse off than before. And so is America. (p. 79)

While Friesema's position might be challenged, it should be accorded careful scrutiny, since one's arrival at this juncture is essentially related to strategy 1, 2 and the economic and political forces which have supported it. However logical this recommendation might be, it is likely to receive limited support from an increasingly militant black community, just as past attempts to alter the above strategy have received limited support and frequently open opposition by most segments of the white community. Similarly, some scholars have indirectly supported this strategy within the context of housing policy analysis. Glazer (1967) recently arrived at the conclusion that the government has the responsibility to prevent active discrimination, but doubted that it should become actively involved in promoting residential integration. Today, when the question of residential choice can no longer be viewed as simply a matter of integration versus segregation, one finds policy makers, as well as segments of the black and white population, embroiled in a prisoners' dilemma situation regarding residential choice and subsequent community development.

VI. Models of Ghetto Residential Development

Before bringing this treatment of the impact of social processes on race-related residential patterns to a close, a modicum of attention will be devoted to the role of models as a means of improving our understanding of the spatial dimension of these processes. The complexity of the society in which we live has prompted the development of a set of more satisfactory tools as a means of heightening our understanding of the many forces which impinge upon human life. One such set of tools that has found increasing utility are those that are collectively identified with model building. Because of our increased concern for precision, heavy emphasis has been accorded that class of models described as mathematical.

Geography, like most social science disciplines, is finding an ever increasing use for models out of its growing interest in theory building and theory testing. The recent compendium of essays edited by Chorley and Haggett (1967) serves as ample evidence of that growing interest. General operating models of residential development that include a location component are few. This general absence of models treating residential assignments in real space might stem from the fact that much of the theory involving these problems has been developed by disciplines more often concerned with abstract space. As one might logically expect, most of the existing residential development models have been designed by urban planners who must be aware of the spatial implications of specific actions. While geographers have demonstrated an abiding interest in houses, as the number of house-type studies appearing in the literature suggests, there has been demonstrated only limited interest in housing. Because of this dearth of housing studies prepared by geographers, one must lean heavily on the work of urban planners.

In a recent review of 20 selected urban planning models, 13 were found which included residential development components (Kilbridge, O'Block, and Teplitz, 1969). For those whose concern basically revolves around micro-scale analysis, the family of residential development models developed by Chapin and others (1968) and the San Francisco housing model (Wolfe, 1967) should be most instructive, as they are without question the most elaborate operational residential location models developed to date.

There is an increasing volume of geographic research, though, which is shedding additional light on the problem of residential development in terms of the behavioral basis of intra-urban mobility and the subsequent choice of residential sites. The specific work of Wolpert (1966), Simmons (1968), and Berry (1969) illuminates an understanding of the general residential problem. Out of the pioneer stirring of interest in the problem of urban residential development, there has been demonstrated some formal research interest in ghetto residential patterns and, consequently, the development of a series of suitable models which would permit the testing of a variety of notions upon which the ghetto as an urban spatial form is premised. To date, however, only the Morrill (1965) model has been described in the literature, but a description of the Rose (1969) model is scheduled for early publication. The former model is essentially heuristic, but is an excellent educational tool and has done much to spur interest in the ghetto as a research focus within the discipline. The latter is a crude attempt to develop a model that might be more accurately described as a planning model. The absence of the role of public decisions which affect the available housing stock and individual moving behavior minimizes the total predictive power of the model.

There will be no attempt to detail the structure of the previously cited ghetto models here, as they have been detailed elsewhere, although a few of the major differences will be noted. Both models are of the simulation type and are conditional forecasting models rather than models designed to generate an optimal solution. The Morrill model might be best described as an internal mobility model. The probability of a potential mover settling in any block is a function of the distance between the block of origin and potential destination. Thus, the probability surface is predicated upon a simple gravity concept. The Rose model differs from the former in three significant ways: 1) it does not specify the path of movement of individual movers, as emphasis here is on changing ghetto form; 2) it attempts to incorporate white reaction to black encroachment as a means of creating housing vacancies; and 3) the probabilistic structure employed as the residential assignment mechanism is based on the relationship between housing costs, at the block level, and black willingness or ability to pay. Thus, the latter model is more housing-market-oriented than internal-mobility-oriented. Some combination of the two would no doubt be more desirable.

The manner in which the results of the simulation are recorded influences its utility from a planning perspective. There is evidence of occasional hesitancy to present one's findings in a manner that might produce undesirable or unexpected consequences. This expression of hesitancy simply reflects the realization of the impact that one's findings might have on group behavior. The manner in which the results are recorded sometimes makes it all but impossible to compare the results of two models empirically, even when the models are operated on the same surfaces. This is logical, though, considering the different objectives incorporated in the models themselves. Ghetto models of the latter type might be employed as building blocks for testing various other kinds of relationships prevailing in ghetto space (Figure 11). A very modest attempt was recently made by Adams and Sanders (1969) to illustrate schematically the relationship between the operation of the housing market, the development of the ghetto, and the rise in the stress level which led to the outburst of violence in Cleveland's Hough area during the summer of 1966. This type of elaboration, to be meaningful, requires far more sophistication than was demonstrated but certainly represents an important first step in research in urban geography.

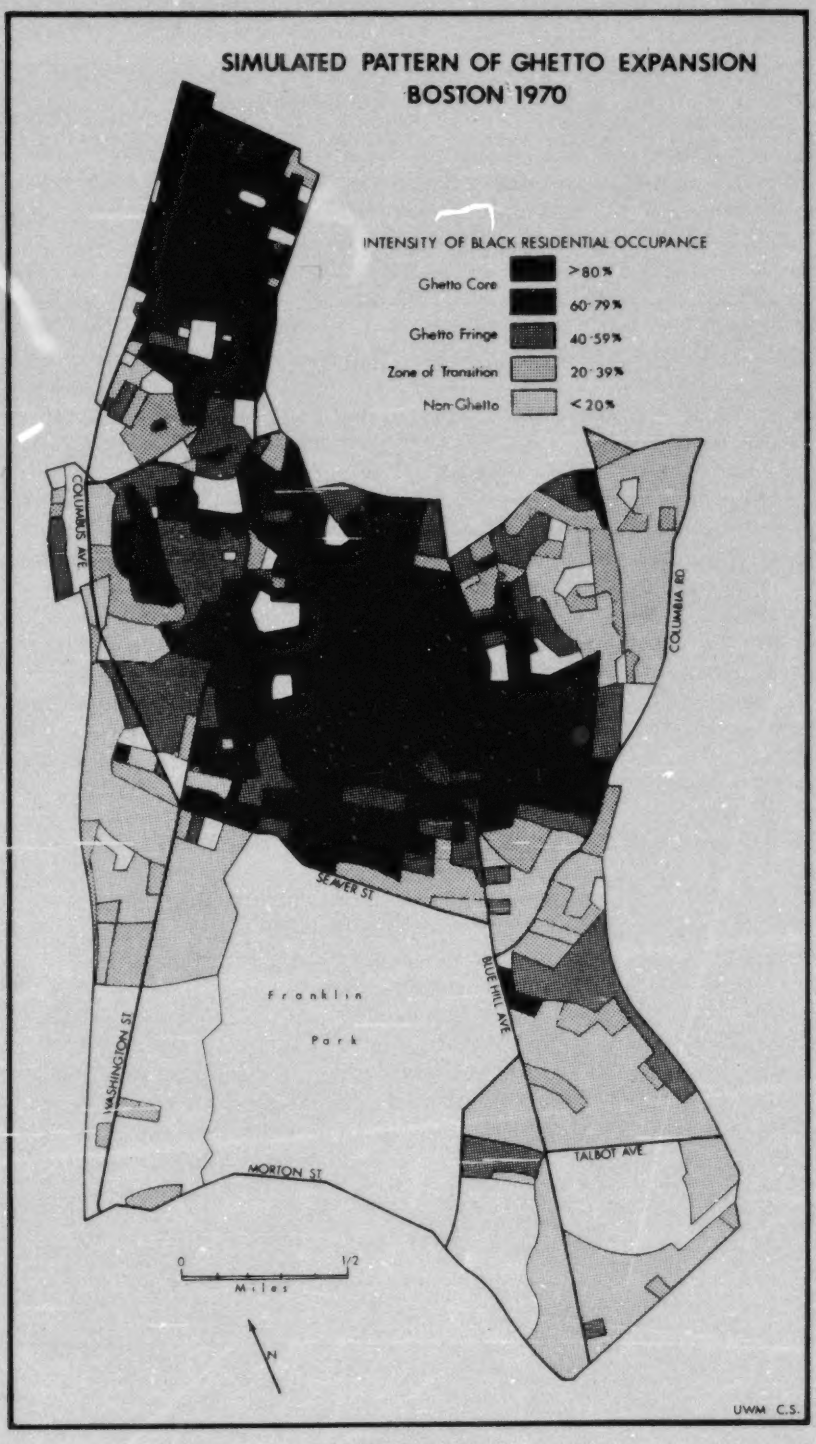
SIMULATED PATTERN OF GHETTO EXPANSION
BOSTON 1970
INTENSITY OF BLACK RESIDENTIAL OCCUPANCE
Ghetto Core
>80%
60-79%
Ghetto Fringe
40-59%
Zone of Transition
20-39%
Non-Ghetto
<20%
COLUMBUS AVE
COLUMBIA RD
SEAVER ST
Franklin
Park
BLUE HILL AVE
WASHINGTON ST
TALBOT AVE
MORTON ST
0
1/2
Miles
N
UWM C.S.

FIGURE 11

VII. Summary and Conclusions

The manner in which housing markets operate, both past and present, has led to the rise of race specific zones of residential occupance which have become known as ghettos. Today, the nation's attention is focused on the rapidly expanding black ghettos in the urban North and West. The declining quality of life found within the environment of the black ghetto has led to periodic outbursts of violence aimed at those responsible for its development and servicing. Since the black ghettos of the South are only slowly growing and reflect the operation of a set of processes never proclaimed to be democratically based, they have not been studied as exhaustively within the same format as have the enclaves located outside of the region. In North and South, ghettoization is a fact of life, even though there might exist wide variations in the geography of black social areas within the metropolitan complex.

Whites and blacks have been conditioned to respond in a dissimilar fashion in their attempts to secure housing. This response is an attempt to adjust to a very complex socio-psychological phenomenon. The differential response is further conditioned by the overt or covert institutionalization of the nation's mores in the operation of the housing market.

The critical question remaining unanswered is—does the concentration of persons along racial lines in contiguous residential space constitute a ghetto? The answer depends in large measure on the nature of the forces which are responsible for the existence of such patterns. If previously described residential choice behavior is considered, then the normative one leads to ghetto development and, subsequently, to many of the problems associated with the rise of this social-spatial institution. Black communities as expressions of cultural pluralism are indeed legitimate entities, but so few black residential communities have developed within this context that one is suspicious of those who infer such motives for community development. This suspicion is rife among blacks and whites, regardless of the legitimacy of their motives.

The future could well produce distorted forms of the existing ghetto pattern or new types of residential patterns wherein race is inconsequential or patterns where racial clustering is essentially an expression of cultural cohesiveness. It is generally assumed that the latter pattern will represent the most prevalent form. The nature of the social processes which prevail in urban areas holds the key to the future of the ghetto as a concept expressed in terms of set residential patterns. The nature of residential patterns themselves need not imply the existence of the ghetto. While future residential patterns are likely to be an outgrowth of complex socio-psychological decisions, the quality of life prevailing within these areas will be severely influenced by the operation of economic forces. For the quality of life to be appreciably altered, new directions must be initiated by the housing industry.

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